Halt Korea war — Revive UN — Ban A-Bomb

THIS is an hour of dire peril to the whole world.

Today American lives are being sacrificed in a senseless military adventure against the people of Korea. They are being prepared for sacrifice in far bloodier adventures against the peoples of China and Indo-China tomorrow.

Those prosecuting this warfare, with no authorization from the American people, are prepared to use atomic weapons. President Truman has said so.

Out of Korea an atomic world war is looming, from which no one can expect to escape.

WHAT can you do about it, as a peace-loving citizen concerned with the lives of those near to you and with the hopes of all humanity for survival?

Three steps must be taken to end the slaughter now before it becomes a holocaust:

- ***Halt the warfare in Korea by withdrawal of American troops, and countermand intervention by U. S. forces in China and Indo-China.***
- ***Get the United Nations back in business by admission of the People's Republic of China and return of the Soviet Union to the Security Council.***
- ***Ban all atomic weapons, everywhere, now and forever.***

The government that is responsible to YOU is the key to achievement of these three things, without which World War III is inevitable.

YOU MUST WRITE TODAY to President Truman insisting that these things be done.

THE warfare in Korea is one of foreign forces against the Korean people. The foreign forces are principally those of the U. S. The United Nations "authority" which now blesses the Korean adventure is a sham; the adventures planned by Washington elsewhere in Asia lack even this sham authority.

The Security Council cannot function legally or morally while the United Nations speaks—as it does right now—for at most half the world's population united against the other half. Admission of the representatives of 450,000,000 Chinese will begin to correct this inequality and make a genuine United Nations possible. Rperesentation for all the peoples of Asia and Africa—not through their colonial overlords—must follow for the UN to be truly world-representative.

The International Red Cross has informed the world: "The A-Bomb means total destruction." There exists no moral or practical ground for use of the bomb. It is a weapon of terror, aggression and mass annihilation. Mankind must destroy the atomic weapon as the first step toward general disarmament and permanent world peace.

A LETTER from you to President Truman can ward off an atomic war, save American lives and return the world to the path of peace. The people of the whole world are looking to you for this action. —THE EDITORS

THE EVIDENCE PILES UP

Was Korean war instigated by M'Arthur-Hoover-Dulles?

By Tabitha Petran

THE American people have heard only one side—and a very suspect side—of the story of the outbreak of civil war in Korea. At no time has the U. S. press or officialdom or even the United Nations given the North Koreans a chance to tell their side.

On the subject of the immediate outbreak of hostilities there is a substantial body of fact—with intricate detail which authorities interested in the truth could investigate—indicating that the South Korean regime fathered by Gen. MacArthur was solely responsible for launching the military action.

But even more important is the evidence which has been accumulating for the last five years, showing clearly that warfare in Korea was long encouraged by U. S. militarists to provide a pretext for a series of aggressive moves in the whole Far East.

(Next week the GUARDIAN will publish a remarkably prophetic article written last March by Agnes Smedley, in which the late Far East expert pointed to the vast plot being hatched to precipitate World War III in Asia.)

Here is the record, first with a calendar of events of this year leading up to the outbreak, followed by details of preparation going back as far as 1945:

JAN. 2, 1950: In the wake of a Republican clamor in Washington for aid to the Formosa regime of Chiang Kai-shek, Herbert Hoover issued a call for

non-recognition of the new China and its exclusion from the UN; the use of force to save Formosa; a separate peace treaty with Japan; military bases in Japan and the Philippines; and "a wall against communism" in Asia. The same day in the N. Y. **Times,** Arthur Krock credited General MacArthur with inspiring this program.

JAN. 5, 1950: President Truman, in a statement opposing the Hoover-MacArthur-Republican program, said the U. S. wanted no military bases in Formosa "at this time." Secretary Acheson hastened to explain that this meant the U. S. was keeping a free hand should our forces be attacked. But it was not the whole story.

Even as President Truman spoke, a complete review of U. S. Far Eastern policy was under way.

Ambassador-at-large Philip Jessup had already started on a tour of the Orient, with the Joint Chiefs of Staff scheduled to follow in February.

There was an obvious split in the Administration. The Joint Chiefs had first said Formosa was unnecessary to U. S. defense. Under pressure from Defense Chief Louis Johnson (a MacArthur man) they reversed themselves (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** Jan. 5).

A State Dept. directive writing off Formosa as "strictly a Chinese affair" leaked to the press just as Ambassador Jessup in Tokyo, Jan. 6, declared that the U. S. had not and would not "abandon" China.

From Tokyo, Jessup went to Seoul to confer with Syngman Rhee, to Singapore where he spoke of the "urgent" need to save Southeast Asia, to Bangkok for a conference of all U. S. Far East diplomats which discussed "strong decisive steps" to halt communism.

JAN. 26, 1950: Gen. Omar Bradley told the Senate that the Joint Chiefs now agreed with MacArthur that Formosa "in hostile hands" would be a menace to our lifeline.

FEBRUARY, 1950: The Joint Chiefs of Staff visited MacArthur in Tokyo where it was later revealed that their chief preoccupation was with the Soviet military position on the Asian mainland and particularly "certain bases in North Korea."

A N. Y. **Times** dispatch disparaged reports of North Korean bases, identifying the reports with South Korean (Rhee) sources and saying non-Korean observers considered them untrue. But the reports were used nevertheless to justify "a tougher military attitude" (AP report) and a strengthening of the Pacific fleet.

The return of the Joint Chiefs to Washington in mid-February was the signal for reports in the business press predicting upward revision in the arms

(Continued on Page 3)

Texts of the Progressive Party position on Korea and Henry A. Wallace's personal position, p. 4.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
5 cents
the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 2, No. 34 NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 19, 1950

HUMANITY CRIES 'STOP!'
200,000,000 people sign peace petition **(see p. 7)**

Max Werner: Asia's military revival

PAGE 8

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THE MAILBAG

A chance for truth

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The presentation of the facts about Korea by the GUARDIAN and the editorials are the best examples of truthful, honest and intelligent journalism (for public service) that I have seen in a long time. Too bad there are not 50 or 100 GUARDIANs; too bad the circulation is not 10 or 20 millions.

Unfortunately the minds of 95% of the people have been systematically poisoned by the press and the radio; so that if one tries to recount and honestly interpret the true facts to the neighbors and the people around, they simply look at you as at a strange creature from a strange planet. However, the facts will in time bring doubts and perhaps the truth will have its chance.

A plain American

An eye-opener

BRONX, N. Y.

Your letter to the President in the issue of July 5 (Reapers of hate) is so truthful, dynamic and magnificent that a way should be found to make hundreds of thousands of reprints of it to be distributed to the man on the street. I feel that this message would open the eyes of all well-meaning people who have been misled by false information.

Mrs. Eve Pantell

TITUSVILLE, FLA.

That article, Reapers of hate, is a gem. It says just enough and does not confuse with too many words.

Let me offer a suggestion: Make many copies of this article. It can be folded and placed in an ordinary envelope. I would send you a long list of names and addresses and pay for mailing expenses. Others, I believe, would do the same.

Mrs. Alice L. Shelbourne

Lack of funds makes it impossible to undertake such a venture at the moment. We suggest, however, that every reader send his read copies of the July 5 GUARDIAN and others on to friends. That's how to win new subscribers. Ed.

DES MOINES, IA.

Congratulations on the splendid job you did on the Korean situation in the July 5 issue of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. The letter to President Truman was exceptionally good. It is a comfort to know that there will at least be some people in America who will have both sides of the story.

Fred W. Stover
President, Iowa Farmers Union

Off the bandwagon

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your July 5 issue was intolerable and perhaps more indicative of your allegiance in power politics as opposed to the search for the truth. Count me off the bandwagon as a subscriber to your apology for imperialism. I cannot condone it, whether it exists as foreign policy of the U.S. or the Soviet Union. My feelings and actions are as alway allied with those who would build a better America and a better world, but not at the expense of a desolate and barren world ravaged by cynical aggressors of the Kremlin.

Harold Heftler

Like reader Heftler we also deplore imperialistic aggression. Such aggression obviously requires use of troops by a foreign power. The only foreign troops on Korean soil are American. Ed.

F. D. R.'s warning

OLD LYME, CONN.

A country whose economy is based on mass destruction, whose armed services work hand in glove with the industrialists, must have war, make and provoke war; a country that has been the first to debauch and destroy with atomic energy, and continues its mass war production, has debauched and intimidated its majority.

Mr. President, your distinguished predecessor warned that "we dare not try again." Yet this is the second time that the U. S. has refused international order. You have dared — of course, with majority support only in this country. Korea was to be expected. This is a cardinal sin.

Dorothy Butler Howells

Two points

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

Your article on Korea is the fairest I've seen, yet I believe there are some more points that should be brought up:

1. If, as the North says, the South Koreans provoked the war, how is it that the North Koreans were so well prepared for the invasion, and could make so much headway so quickly? Of course, there is another angle here: perhaps the South Koreans, having once got the thing rolling, gave ground gracefully in order to make the thing look the way it has.

2. Again, supposing the attack to be provoked, and the U.S.S.R. to have had no hand in it, why didn't the North Koreans stop when the UN urged them to stop? This was the only intelligent thing to do, and the U.S.S.R. should have made a public plea for the North to stop.

These two points ruin any chance of argument we might have had. It seems incredible that the U.S.S.R. could have been so stupid as to have aided and abetted the North Koreans in preparing this invasion and given them word to go ahead just when prospects for peace looked so good! That is what makes it look so much like an act engineered and inspired by the cold-war boys in the West. And yet, why didn't the U.S.S.R. call for a halt in the hostilities!

Of course our own country is the greatest criminal in this tragedy. We would be, even if the story were true that it is a brutal invasion inspired and backed by the U.S.S.R. We would be, because we have sent soldiers in where it is well known the U.S.S.R. hasn't, and because two wrongs do not make a right; and because our action, in the name of law and order, is among the most flagrant invitations to anarchy and world-destruction ever known. Yet, this doesn't excuse the U.S.S.R.

Al Amery

Faithful reader Amery, we feel, in his soul-searching has answered some of his own questions. Things he should also recall: (1) U.S. bombs were failing on Korea before the UN cease-fire order was given; (2) In view of countless border clashes, there was every reason for the North Korean army to be as strong as the South Korean army was said by U.S. military advisers to be; (3) Irving Pflaum in the Chicago "Sun-Times" said the U.S. note to the Soviet Union asking Moscow to use its good offices to end the war was written Sunday, held up two days before delivery as the U. S. decided what to do next. Ed.

The Bootstrap way

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Here's a 3-in-1 way for us to build our GUARDIAN:

By informal house gatherings with a sub to the GUARDIAN as price of admission, and featuring a folk music program, we can increase our GUARDIAN circulation, our own social circulation and help extend our revolutionary cultural heritage—American folk music. We can do a lot to counteract the slick and phony tendencies by the big recording companies and big bands who are suddenly taking folk music as their very own.

Here in Los Angeles, we ran a successful affair featuring folk singer Gladys Bashkin, and sold 57 subs. Folk singers from the Peoples' Artists Bureau are going around the country and are available for our GUARDIAN sub-building affairs in addition to local talent. During the war, a considerable number of albums were recorded, especially by Asch-Disc, of authentic folk music, and we can build interesting folk music programs around these recordings, such as a "United Nations Folk Musicale." There are many folk dance groups to demonstrate the folk dances.

Howard Feldman

In a sentence

SEAL BEACH, CALIF.

We need our GUARDIAN as we never did before.

Feiger Family

Before it's too late

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Talmud narrates an incident about Rabbi Ben Karshook which holds a vital lesson for us at this grave moment. One of his students asked what was the best day for repentance. The Rabbi replied: "The last day of one's life." Said the student: "How is one to know which is the last day?" And the Rabbi replied: "Well, since you may not know, perhaps you had better repent today."

The American people have stood by silent, inactive, confused for too long while those itching for an atomic world war have been taking one step after another toward their cherished goal: WAR, which they have begun with fury against the people of Korea.

The time to stop them is at hand. Tomorrow will be too late.

A. Garcia Diaz

Korea and China

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Korea and China are two different matters. South Korea was an established and recognized republic. China is a country where most of the inhabitants have declared against Chiang Kai-shek and for Mao Tse-tung. They will make of communism what they wish. We can defend South Korea but not Formosa, though we did not defend the Spanish Republic.

Name withheld

Quarantine called for

CHICAGO, ILL.

On Oct. 5, 1937, President Roosevelt in an historic speech at Chicago declared:

"The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago. It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

". . . Without a declaration of war and without warning or justification of any kind, civilians including women and children are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air. . . . Nations are fomenting and taking sides in civil warfare in nations that have never done them any harm. . . . The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to these violations and these ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape. . . . There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace."

The Koreans' only crime is to want to rule themselves without any interference from the U.S., which insists that the fascist puppet Rhee (another Chiang) rule them.

How far must we travel along the road to fascism before the American people will realize that we have absolutely reversed ourselves since the last war and today our foreign policy supports the very things we fought against?

How long before we "quarantine" (retire) our own "aggressors" as Roosevelt advised as a cure, and put a stop to the needless killing of American boys, and learn to mind our own business?

T. K.

Duluth, Minn.
Buffet Dinner
with
ELMER BENSON
Wed., July 25, 6 p.m. Adm. $1
Svithoid Hall, 2103 W. 3d St.
Auspices: National Guardian Readers Club to mark completion of 1st phase of "Operation Boostrap" subscription drive.

What they said about the war

"I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life."

- **A "grimy, bewhiskered, bloodshot-eyed officer," to AP correspondent Tom Lambert at the front in Korea.**

"An officer estimated that one-fourth of his men were barely literate....En route to the front the men behaved as if they were on a Sunday outing....I have talked to enlisted men and some young officers who had not the slightest inkling why they were fighting in Korea."

- **Homer Bigart, Pulitzer Prize-winning correspondent of the N.Y. "Her-Tribune" in Korea.**

"I don't think most of us want to go. But we've been ready and expected it sooner or later."

- **A lieutenant of the 22d Medium Bomb Group awaiting takeoff for Korea at March Field, Calif.**

"We have a place to live. Many of the girls do not... and they hardly know what's going to become of them and their families."

- **The wife of a Marine Corps officer at dockside in San Diego saying goodbye to her Marine officer husband, as reported in the N.Y. Times.**

Like our Civil War

ROUND MOUNTAIN, CALIF.

Does not the partition of Korea and Palestine, in a way, remind you of the partition of Ireland, which, even today, is still a boil? In a way the civil war in Korea is similar to the civil war in the U. S. In both it is a struggle for unity and a fight between North and South. But today there is no Lincoln to earnestly request that outside nations keep out and allow a nation to work and fight out its own destiny.

The UN calls for the fighting to stop in Korea. But the UN does not hold the respect of humanity, including Korea. Its activities in the past and at present have not and do not now rest upon love and wisdom, the power of full consideration, right application, reason and conscience.

Among the great voices that direct the activities of the UN we see a fragment of a corrupt government seated as the voice of China. What a farce. . . .

Soren Dahl

23d Psalm rewritten

MOORHEAD, MINN.

Harry S. Truman is my shepherd; I am in want.

He maketh me to support world-wide reaction; he leadeth me from bad to worse.

He destroyeth my freedom; he leadeth me down the road to fascism for his backers' sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of war, I may expect no better; for he is with me; his atom and his hydrogen, they terrify me.

He prepareth an alliance before me, for the enrichment of mine enemies; he anointeth my head with scarcities, my cup runneth over.

Surely fear and uncertainty shall follow me all the days of my life; and I shall dwell on the brink of doom forever.

N. W.

A generous father

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

In a Philadelphia courtroom last week a magistrate sentenced two members of the YPA to 35 days in jail or $15. The crime: distributing Progressive Party leaflets calling for an end to American intervention in Korea.

The defendants, both war veterans, were charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Instead of a trial they were given a two-bit political speech by the magistrate. When reminded of the false charges, the magistrate waved a copy of the leaflet at the defendants and answered: "I'm willing for my son to die. He went in the last war and he can go again."

T. J. P.

Atrocity stories

CHICAGO, ILL.

I have just heard a bulletin stating that seven American soldiers have been found with their hands tied behind them, shot in the face, obviously by North Koreans. This atrocity story might be credible in view of the fact that reports have come out that South Koreans have been shooting prisoners, except for one thing: the typical execution method used by Asiatics is to have the prisoner kneel, tie his hands behind him, and shoot him in the back of the head.

It is interesting to note that this announcement came just a few days after an American intelligence colonel announced that the difficulty with American troops was that they did not hate enough to be really good fighters. Add this to the well-known fact that MacArthur invented a number of Japanese atrocity stories during the last war, and we have an American intelligence plot to make soldiers—and civilians at home—hate more adequately.

D. M. C.

Lethargy is criminal

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your appeal for renewals was a frank and effective criticism. I hope that your other lazy subscribers will shake themselves loose from that lethargy, which is critical today. Here's my $1 renewal. Your rank and file management idea is really a wonderful event and shows your confidence in the people.

Harold Kratke

No 1 on the agenda

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

At our last membership meeting, it was voted to order 20 GUARDIANS each week. Each member is to see how many he can sell by next meeting time. Our club meets every two weeks and the paper is always the first item on the agenda.

Rose Kirkpatrick

Use old GUARDIANS to win new subscribers. Mail them to your friends. A simple, open-end wrapper and a 1c stamp will do the job.

La Bataille, Paris

THIS WAS 1920

"I'm going to ask them whether or not I'm the victor!"

THE GUARDIAN IS IN DANGER

Don't lose your best weapon for peace!

VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE PRESS, radio and officialdom of our country are backing a war of suppression, even one of annihilation, against the peoples of Asia — and eventually, of course, against Russia. Unless stopped, the war cannot fail to be turned against the American people, too. Without facts this rush to arms cannot be stopped, nor can America and the world turn back to the path of peace.

In this fearsome situation there is literally only one medium reaching out into every state and city, and into some 5,000 American communities, with the unadorned facts.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN is that medium.

PEOPLE FROM ALL OVER the country have written and wired us in fervent appreciation of our coverage of the Korean crisis. They have asked for thousands more extra copies than we have been able to supply. They have told us that the GUARDIAN is their sole instrument in the fight for peace.

The GUARDIAN most certainly intends to stay in the fight as long as we can, but the going has never been tougher for us than it is right now. There are apparently no big investors available to finance a paper like ours. Hence the question of whether we can continue to publish rests directly with you — the individal reader.

WITHOUT A NEW, WHOLESALE EFFORT — NOW — BY EVERYONE READING THESE PARAGRAPHS, THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY AS REAL AS NEXT WEEK'S PRINTING BILLS THAT WE SHALL HAVE TO SUSPEND PUBLICATION—AT A TIME WHEN THE KIND OF INFORMATION PROVIDED EXCLUSIVELY BY THIS PAPER TO MANY AREAS OF OUR NATION IS MORE VITALLY NEEDED THAN AT ANY TIME IN OUR HISTORY.

SURELY IT MUST BE WORTH a $5 or $10 bill to you to make sure that the people around you are fully informed for peace.

Surely it must be worth $50 right now to your organization to receive a bundle of GUARDIANS each week to pass along to the people of your community who are working and praying for peace.

At the very least, won't you make it your responsibility to send us your own subscription renewal now, whether you are in arrears or not, and to get a few of your friends, neighbors and jobmates to subscribe now, too?

UNLESS YOU, PERSONALLY, DO YOUR BIT NOW — OR DO ANOTHER BIT, IF YOU ARE ONE WHO HAS ALREADY CHIPPED IN — THERE IS GRAVE DOUBT THAT WE CAN CONTINUE TO PUBLISH. THAT WOULD BE A TRAGIC AND SHAMEFUL END TO THE MIGHTY EFFORTS OF SO MANY THOUSANDS OF FINE, FIGHTING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY TO BUILD AND MAINTAIN AT LEAST ONE WEAPON OF TRUTH IN OUR MIDST.

—The Editors

Was the Korean war instigated by MacArthur-Hoover-Dulles?

(Continued from page 1)

budget. **Barron's** (Feb. 27) tied "bigger spending plans" directly to the Pacific, declaring that "the need is urgent" if the U. S. "is to gamble on trying to keep the communists out of control in Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia." (Five months later—June 19—**Barron's** complained that no action had been taken on this program. One week later they got action, in the form of warfare on the 38th Parallel in Korea.)

MARCH, 1950. In Japan, MacArthur released all Japanese war criminals, announced the intended outlawing of the Japanese Communist Party.

April, 1950: John Foster Dulles, chief instigator of the U. S.-Soviet split over Korea, was appointed by Truman to the State Dept.

MAY, 1950: Secy. Acheson promised France military help in Indo-China. MacArthur espoused a Japanese campaign for a separate peace treaty (in line with the Hoover program of Jan. 2) and publicly admitted that the U. S. was building military bases in Japan.

JUNE, 1950: The Joint Chiefs journeyed again to Tokyo, ostensibly to discuss a Japanese peace treaty. Press reports said however that the conference concerned "the strategic picture involving a large section of Asia," obedient to MacArthur's view that Japan could not be considered in isolation from Korea and Formosa (N. Y. **Times,** June 19).

The Tokyo conference in June put the finishing touches on the plan to hold Formosa.

Then, less than one week later came the outbreak in Korea and President Truman's immediate decisions to send forces to Korea and to intervene also in Formosa and Indo-China.

THE story of MacArthur's maneuverings with the Korean collaborators and their former Japanese overlords goes back to 1945.

In that year MacArthur insisted on bringing back Syngman Rhee—for 36 years an exile in the U. S.—to Korea.

THE REAL VICTIMS
A Korean mother and child

In 1946, when MacArthur's chief intelligence officer, Gen. Charles Willoughby, brought Rhee to Tokyo in MacArthur's private plane, PM correspondent Mark Gayn wrote:

> **Observers here are puzzled by the care accorded Rhee, for it is widely known that Washington more than six months ago ordered the shelving of Rhee and other extreme rightists in favor of moderates. . . .**

After his visit with MacArthur, Rhee launched an all-out campaign for the setting up of a separate government in South Korea, telling U. S. correspondents that Washington had told him to "go ahead with the separate state, it's just what we want, the only thing to do is to take North Korea by force."

Rhee told his own clique in Seoul: "As soon as the time comes, I'll instruct you. Then you should be prepared to shed blood. I have already made connections abroad."

MacArthur's "bulwark"

The South Korean government was set up under Syngman Rhee in August, 1948, following elections sanctioned by the Soviet-boycotted UN Little Assembly at the instigation of the U. S. and over the objections of Canada, Australia and others who argued that the Little Assembly had no such authority.

MacArthur flew to Seoul, one of his two absences from Japan since the war, to give the new Rhee regime his blessing. He called South Korea "an impregnable bulwark."

In the fall of 1949 a round of conferences began in Tokyo and Seoul between Syngman Rhee representatives and Americans. After one such conference in late 1949, Rhee's Defense Minister Sihn Sung Mo told the press regarding armed attack on North Korea:

> **"If we had our way we would, I'm sure, have started up already. But we had to wait until they (American government leaders) are ready. They keep telling us: 'No, no, no. Wait, you are not ready.' We are strong enough to march up and take Pyongyang within a few days."**

Syngman Rhee's former Minister of Interior, Kim Hyo Suk, now in North Korea, reported over the North Korean radio July 5 that the Rhee government had actually planned a "northern expedition" for July 15, 1949, but that it failed due to partisan activity in South Korea.

Late in 1949, MacArthur conferred with Rhee's Defense Minister and Gen. Roberts, chief of the U. S. military mission in Korea. Later Brig.-Gen. Russell E. Randall, former U. S. air attache in Moscow, made a 10-day inspection of the South Korean airforce; and Gen. Claire Chennault conferred with Rhee, acting, according to the N. Y. **Times,** as "unofficial envoy for Chiang Kai-shek to work out cooperation between Nationalist China and Korea."

"Our Japanese friends"

This year, after the departure of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from Tokyo, Syngman Rhee arrived via MacArthur's private plane. Of this visit the United Press reported on Feb. 16 that Rhee "invited Japan to bury the hatchet with Korea and join forces in an anti-communist alliance under the leadership of Gen. Douglas MacArthur. . . ."

Daily Worker, London
"I believe someone has criticized General MacArthur."

On his return from Tokyo, Rhee said in Seoul on Mar. 1:

> **"In our demand for redemption of our conquered land, we shall not much longer be without allies."**

According to Kim Hyo Suk, Rhee told his cabinet at that time that once the 1950 northern expedition began, South Korea must subject everything to MacArthur's command and work with high-ranking Japanese officers. He also promised that the 1950 expedition would be followed by large-scale assistance from U. S. planes and ships.

On May 30, over bitter opposition of Rhee, South Korean elections were held which were won by anti-Rhee rightists committed to peaceful conferences for unity with North Korea.

Promptly the South Korean ambassador in Washington warned of the impending collapse of his government and asked the U. S. for armed intervention. As a result, John Foster Dulles was sent to Seoul, where he predicted defeat for North Korea. On June 20 he was photographed with U. S. and South Korean army officers in trenches at the 38th parallel, less than a week before the offcial start of hostilities.

● Next week the GUARDIAN will print the details of the actual outbreak of hostilities in Korea, showing that they were begun by South Korea a full month before the "official" outbreak for which the North Koreans and Moscow are now blamed.

HENRY A. WALLACE

Personal statement on the Korean situation

FROM the time of my "Century of the Common Man" speech in May of 1942, I have realized with increasing intensity that the dominant political force of our time would be the aspiration of the common man in all parts of the wordl to enhance his well being. During World War II our boys fought on the side of the Common Man and against those who would enslave him. As Vice President and as Secretary of Commerce I did my best to get my government to take over world leadership on behalf of those who had not yet learned to use modern technology to help themselves. Unfortunately when the war ended in 1945 there were men influential in our Administration who were more interested in a new war than they were in the just aspirations of humanity in the under developed and crowded parts of the world. For my part I knew there could be no war if the U.S. were continually on the side of the Common Man.

It is too early for history to assess correctly all the moves and counter moves of American-backed South Korea and Russian-backed North Korea. 99% of the people of America and Russia do not know what really happened beginning with the end of the war against Japan when the U.S. and Russia divided Korea into two parts. All that most Americans know is that a Russian-trained North Korean army suddenly launched a well planned attack on South Korea early in the morning of June 25. All that the Russian people know is that the U.S. is using armed force to put down an effort of the Korean people to unify their country and free themselves from their exploiters. The Americans have been fed one body of fact by their Government and the Russians another.

* * *

FROM the time I left the Government in 1946 I have done my best to save my country and the world from this day. I denounced the Truman doctrine and the sending of arms abroad. I denounced using our economic aid for purposes of political pressure. I knew such methods could only end by making us hated by all the peoples of the world. In time of peace I have felt completely free to criticize my own Government provided such criticsim was looking toward peace and world understanding of the need for directing the aspiration of the Common Man into constructive channels. Today the U.S. is at war with North Korea. Congress has not declared war but that is a technicality because the overwhelming majority of the Congress and the Senate are in favor of fighting the North Koreans.

Today the UN is at war with North Korea because North Korea did not comply with the resolution of the Security Council adopted on June 25 directing the North Korean armed forces to withdraw north of the 38th parallel. Nehru was quite correct when he said with regard to the actions of the UN: "The Security Council had no alternative but to declare North Korea the aggressor and subsequently call upon the members of the UN to meet this armed attack and restore international peace. Whatever justification might be advanced for this aggression and whatever might have preceded it, might have some importance, but it does not take way from the fact of a well planned aggression." Objections have been raised to the effect that the UN action against the armed forces of North Korea is illegal. True, Russia could have cast a veto if she had been present but she chose not to be present and under UN practice a country not present or abstaining cannot defeat any measure of importance. Many important actions have been taken by the UN with one or more of the permanent members abstaining.

Another objection is against the vote of the representative of Old China. Personally I have felt for six months as have Trygve Lie and Nehru that the New China should have been seated long ago. But from a legal point of view the representative of Old China is still a member of the UN. The seating of the New China will unfortunately be delayed by the aggression of North Korea. I am sure that if the 450 million people of the New China had been represented in the UN during the past six months the world would be in a much more peaceful state than it is today. From the standpoint of strengthening the UN and building lasting peace, Russia made one of her most serious mistakes when she boycotted the UN agencies on which the representatives of the Old China were seated. Just because other people refuse to do what you think is right at the precise moment when you think it should be done is no excuse for a sudden boycott. Sweeping aside all the technicalities involving UN voting and the failure of Congress to declare war, I want to make it clear that when Russia, the U.S. and the UN appeal to force I am on the side of the U.S. and the UN. Undoubtedly the Russians could have prevented the attack by the North Koreans and undoubtedly they could now stop the attack at any time they wish.

* * *

I HOLD no brief for the past actions of either the U.S. or Russia, but when my country is at war and the UN sanctions that war I am on the side of my country and the UN. I was Vice President of the U.S. during a great war and I can never forget that. As Secretary of Agriculture and as Vice President I always advocated preparedness. In building the Ever-Normal Granary program, in trading cotton for rubber before World War II, and in serving as Chairman of SPAB and the Board of Economic Warfare I did much to prepare my country for victory in World War II. Just because I believe the present war in Korea could have been prevented is no reason why I should not support my country when it gets into serious trouble which entails the death of many American boys.

The time has passed now for trying to find out who is to blame. What all true lovers of peace are interested in now is finding a solution that will benefit the Korean people, save the prestige of both the U.S. and Russia, and strengthen a real UN in which both the U.S. and Russia will play an active and a fair role. The first step is for Truman and Stalin to meet to discuss a real point-four program, operating through the UN with money contributed by all the nations on the basis of one-third of their armaments expenditures. Let this be done within the framework of Trygve Lie's 10 points. Let Korea be the first place to operate with a new UN rehabilitation program. Let it be real rehabilitation which gets rid of the ancient abuses of the landlord and money lord as well as the new abuses perpetrated by the extremists.

The U.S. will fight a losing battle in Asia as long as she stands behind feudal regimes based on the exorbitant charges of landlords and money lords. Russia is using a mightier power than the atom bomb as long as she helps the people to get out from under their ancient aggressors. But we in the U.S. have a still mightier power if we will only use it for the people. I refer to our modern technology and our huge reserves of capital, when and if applied to solving the problem of poverty and hunger. I am not suggesting competition between the U.S. and Russia but cooperation in meeting the needs of the people. Let the first demonstration be in Korea. In this demonstration I appeal to Russia to use good will instead of hate propaganda.

* * *

EVER since 1945 I have done my best to bring about that degree of understanding between the U.S. and Russia which would make it possible for both countries to operate through the UN to help the people in the backward areas to help themselves with the modern techniques of agriculture and industry. I did my best to prevent the UN from becoming an alliance of western nations against Russia and her satellites. Events are steadily proving the wisdom of my actions. If civilization is not to be destroyed, both Russia and the U.S. must eventually use the UN to develop the backward areas of the world for the sake of the people and not for power politics or exploitation.

It is revolting that the people of Korea should be made the expendable pawns on the Russo-American chess board. It is tragic that our boys should be dying so unnecessarily in Korea. But in view of events since June 25 I cannot agree with those who want to start a propaganda drive to pull United Nations troops out of Korea. We must continue our fight against the North Korea troops in South Korea until such time as Russia is willing to use her influence to stop the fighting and start through the UN, negotiations for the settlement of the whole Asiatic problem, not merely in terms of boundaries and seating of the New Chinese government but also in terms of trade and that development for the sake of the people on which world peace depends. Again I say that Russia could stop the fighting now if she wished to do so.

With the world divided as it has been since 1945 I have long believed and often publicly stated that the U.S. should fight if Russian troops moved in strength into Turkey. Further Russian expansion in the Near East would over-balance the world and I have made my views known to press conferences and to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. With world affairs having reached their present pass, I believe the only safety for the U.S. and the UN is to continue their efforts to push the North Koreans north of the 38th parallel. I say this fully realizing how many times even the conservative press of the U.S. has called attention to the dictatorial and corrupt methods used by Syngman Rhee's South Korean government. But the U.S. has been forced by unwise actions on the part of both Russia and the U.S. to take a stand. The UN also, because Korea is peculiarly a creation of the UN, has been forced to take a stand. Again I say that under such conditions I stand by my country and the UN.

Knowing the corruption of the Rhee government, I say it is vital for the U.S. and the UN to announce as soon as possible that once South Korea is pacified free elections will be held for the purpose of unifying Korea under a democratic regime. It is insanity for the U.S. to fight for Syngman Rhee and his cruel government which was repudiated by the South Koreans themselves on May 30 of this year. But no matter how corrupt and foolish the Rhee government may have been, the heavy, well planned North Korean attack places the U.S. and the UN in a position where their safety, in the future world now shaping up, depends on their success in carrying through what both have started.

* * *

TO avoid unnecessary loss of American lives and to put the world on a safe basis, all patriotic Americans should now call on the UN to use all possible influence with Russia, the New China, India, Pakistan, England, France, Holland and the U.S. to solve the conflict in Asia—in Formosa and Indo-China as well as Korea—and thus avoid what will otherwise be World War III. We in the U.S. must put on a peace drive which is not inspired by any foreign influence but which is based on a real understanding of the aspirations and needs of the Asiatic people.

●

Boost the National Guardian —the Peace Paper!

Guardian's position

After weeks of deliberation and discussion, the Progressive Party National Committee and Henry A. Wallace, the party's 1948 candidate for President, have issued separate statements on the Korean crisis. NATIONAL GUARDIAN herewith presents both statements in full as a service to our readers, so many of whom are Progressive Party members.

The editors wish to make clear that, while the GUARDIAN has consistently supported the positions of the Progressive Party, it is not an organ of the Progressive Party or of any individual or any group in that party.

The GUARDIAN has been from its first issue an independent publication based in the American progressive movement. As such, we have striven and shall continue to strive to reflect the views of the rank and file of American progressives. We feel we are able correctly to appraise these views because of constant contact with active progressives in thousands of communities.

The GUARDIAN's independent position on Korea and world peace has already been made clear, based on the facts as we have been able to bring them to light. This position is summed up on P. 1 of this issue.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

National Committee Text on Korea and China

AT this grave hour when American soldiers are losing their lives in a war six thousand miles from our shores and when the peace of the world stands in jeopardy, it is the democratic duty of every individual and organization which has the interest of our country at heart, calmly and dispassionately to appraise the facts and to call upon our government for such measures as will prevent the further loss of life and preserve the peace of the world. In that spirit, the National Committee of the Progressive Party offers this statement of its position and proposals.

The Progressive Party was founded as the party of opposition to the bi-partisan policy of the cold war, because of our conviction that that policy could not serve the interests of the American people or the cause of world peace. The Party foresaw and has long sought to avert the tragic events which are now taking place.

The Korean war is a product of the cold war. Every day that it continues will be paid for in the lives of our soldiers and the slaughter of the Koreans. Every day that it continues increases the danger that the fighting may erupt into

World War III. The shooting war is costing us the draft of our sons, the further curtailment of American liberties and greater restrictions on the rights of labor. It will lead to an increase by tens of billions in the military budget, at the expense of the welfare needs of the people, and to rising prices that will cut deeply into their living standards.

* * *

THE members of the National Committee of the Progressive Party recognize the existence of differences within the Party, as in the nation, as to the immediate causes of the Korean hostilities and as to the responsibility of the U.S. or the Soviet Union for the tragic events that are taking place there. We are united in the conviction that the continuance of hostilities is not in the interest of the American people. It is not in the interest of world peace. A solution of the crisis in Asia must, therefore, be based on a workable proposal for the immediate cessation of hostilities. Such a solution must also be based on recognition of a second fundamental fact. The universal demand of the whole Korean people is to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination by establishing a unified and independent government for themselves, free from intervention by any foreign power.

The Rhee regime does not meet that demand. As the opinion of every qualified observer who has visited South Korea since 1946 establishes, it is a completely undemocratic government, without support among the people of South Korea, and has remained in power only through forcible suppression of all dissent. It was repudiated by the South Korean people themselves at the polls in May, 1950, when, in the face of police state terror, they elected to the South Korean legislature a majority opposed to the Rhee regime and in favor of unity with the North.

As the experience of China conclusively demonstrates, foreign intervention and foreign arms can make more difficult and more bloody, but cannot check the irresistible force of the liberation movement that is sweeping the continent of Asia.

* * *

A PEACEFUL and constructive solution of the Korean crisis, in consonance with these basic principles, can be achieved only through the United Nations, to which the people of the world have looked as the surest guardian of the peace and protector of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and which today can still offer the world's best hope for pecae.

But the UN cannot fulfill the high purposes of its charter and serve the people of the world so long as the 450 million people who compose the Chinese nation are excluded from representation in the UN and on its Security Council. The UN cannot speak with authority or act effectively so long as China's seat is held by the remnants of a corrupt, discredited and defeated regime which has been overwhelmingly repudiated by the Chinese people and maintains a puppet-like existence on Formosa, only by grace of an American fleet which seeks to prevent the government of China from re-uniting that island with the mainland.

The first step toward a peaceful settlement of the Korean crisis must, therefore, be to restore the authority and effectiveness of th UN. This can only be accomplished by a return to the principles of its Charter, as urged by Trygve Lie and Premier Nehru, through the seating of the Republic of China. The American people should, therefore, call for immediate action by our government to remove this obstacle to peace.

* * *

WITH the effectiveness of the UN restored through the admission of the government of China and the consequent return of the Soviet Union to the Council table, the Security Council will be in a position to take the following measures to preserve the peace:

1. Issue appropriate orders and adopt measures for the cessation of hostilities in Korea and make provision for the prompt establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government for all of Korea.

2. Call upon President Truman to withdraw his unilateral directive commanding the United States fleet to defend Formosa, which constitutes intervention in the Chinese civil war in outright violation of the Cairo agreement that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China," a commitment confirmed by the Potsdam agreement, the terms of the Japanese surrender and Truman's commitment in his statement of January 5, 1950.

3. Establish through the appropriate UN agency, a UN Construction and Development Fund to extend to the nations of Asia, on a non-political basis, the economic assistance and technical aid which they require for the rapid development of their industry and agriculture, and to facilitate the peaceful realization of their aspirations for self-determination and independence.

Voices have been raised in America calling for the dropping of the atom bomb on Korea. We condemn this inhuman proposal and call for a declaration by our government that the bomb will not be used.

We offer these proposals in the conviction that, notwithstanding the present grave threat to peace, a world war is not inevitable and that the voice of the peace-loving peoples of the world can compel their governments to accept these measures to put an end to bloodshed in Korea and avert an atomic war of annihilation. We offer these proposals as a peace program on which all Americans and men of good will throughout the world can unite, regardless of their differences on other issues.

There is yet time to save world peace if the people will but make their voices heard.

Daily Express, London

"It's too much—Rita Hayworth, Ingrid Bergman, and now this! !"

WAR & PEACE

Diplomats probing as U.S. bogs down

INDIAN Prime Minister Nehru last week sent personal notes to Soviet Premier Stalin, Britain's Attlee and President Truman urging localization of the Korean war. Within two days came Stalin's reply. The N. Y. **Times** said Stalin had welcomed Nehru's proposals, agreed with him that the first step would be admission of China to the UN. The Indian **News Chronicle** printed the purported text of Stalin's note. It concluded with this paragraph:

> I suppose for a quicker settlement of the Korean problem it would be necessary to hear representatives of the Korean people.

As the GUARDIAN went to press, Truman and Attlee had not replied, but a State Dept. spokesman insisted the "rock bottom" U.S. demand was a North Korean cease-fire and withdrawal to the 38th Parallel. James Reston in the N. Y. **Times**, July 15, said flatly the U.S. would reject the Indian proposals because kicking Chiang Kai-shek's delegates out of the UN "would alienate powerful forces in Congress and the country." But Reston, often a semi-official spokesman for the State Dept., said the U.S.'s earlier announcement that it would veto China's admission "at least leaves the door open to various possibilities." He suggested that there is "more than a possibility that without the cooperation of the U.S." Britain and India could get China into the UN, opening the way for a settlement in Korea.

BACK-TRACKING: Reston may have reflected the views of those in the State Dept. who opposed the Korean and Formosan adventures from the start. Some influential opinon-moulders were having second thoughts. Walter Lippmann, who supported the Korean adventure, urged that "we refuse to be sucked into the Asiatic mainland." The **Wall St. Journal's** Joseph E. Evans wrote:

> The real question is not whether we should have intervened in Korea but whether we should have had a policy of containing Communism.

Some in Washington were more aware

SIR DAVID KELLY
The wires were humming

than others of the dilemmas into which the Asian adventure was plunging the U.S. with respect to its European allies. Britain, having recognized the new China and with its concern about Hong Kong, could not go along with any plan to detach Formosa. British Ambassador to Moscow Sir David Kelly had two talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Gromyko, in hope of localizing the war.

At Lake Success UN sources were speculating on the sudden cancellation of a trip home by Soviet delegate Jacob Malik. Malik, by the alphabetical rotation system, is scheduled to chair the Security Council in August. Some thought he might appear with a surprise resolution or two on China or Korea.

U.S. STILL ALONE: UN flags were sent to the "unified command" of Gen. MacArthur, for which UN Secy.-Gen. Trygvie Lie had still received no promises of ground troops from other UN members. U.S. troops had been pushed back beyond the Kum River, the last natural defense line in the South, with U.S. headquarters in Taejon seriously threatened. The warfare in Korea was bitter. Two U.S. correspondents, AP's Tom Lambert and UP's Peter Kalischer, were barred from the Korean battlefields for reporting the anger and bitterness of GI's with this "useless war" (see page 2). MacArthur later lifted the ban. Other reports said North Korean victories "have shaken deeply the (GI's) confidence in American superiority in arms." Gen. Bradley told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the U.S. might be driven out of Korea.

Vicky in News Chronicle, London

"For the second time in history may I ask the right hon. gentlemen what initial steps they are proposing to take towards the reorganization of human society, now in danger of collapse . . . ?"

On July 12 MacArthur's headquarters said it had documentary evidence of atrocities against U.S. prisoners by North Korean troops. Pointing out that the U.S. press had also published eyewitness accounts of South Koreans crushing the backbones of "guerrillas" with rifle butts, Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, former Chief Counsel for War Crimes at Nuremberg, wrote to the N.Y. **Times**:

> We will make ourselves appear ridiculous and hypocritical if we condemn the conduct of the enemy, when at the same time troops allied with us are with immunity executing prisoners by means of rifle butts applied to backbones.

Both South Koreans and North Koreans replied to a UN appeal to end atrocities that they were not committing them and would not. (The South Korean police chief admitted executing 1,200 "suspected Communists.") No UN appeal was sent to MacArthur. U.S. planes were carrying out saturation bombing of North Korean cities and villages. South Korean guerrillas were enlarging their operations against U.S. troops.

One of the top South Korean generals, Song Ho Sung, broadcast an appeal from Seoul calling on South Koreans to fight Americans, declaring he had organized "a volunteer corps with several hundred thousand soldiers of the National Defense Army who have gone over to the People's Army and the partisans." Some 80 members of the South Korean legislature were missing in the North, the Rhee government said, apparently embarrassed by questions as as to what had become of the anti-Rhee representatives elected May 30.

WORLD'S PERIL: Not only over Korea but over the world hung the threat of the atom bomb. At a press conference July 12, Secy. Acheson bitterly attacked the Stockholm Peace Appeal as "'a propaganda trick' in the spurious 'peace offensive' by the Soviet Union." The Washington **Post** called this "a formal statement which indicated . . . the U.S. would keep its freedom of action to use the atomic bomb if necessary."

Demands for use of the bomb were heard in Congress, in the House of Commons, from the Amvets and others. Hanson Baldwin in the N. Y. **Times** predicted these demands would increase but said:

> If we want to lose what influence we have left in Asia, a good way to do it is to drop the atomic bomb on North Korea.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, distinguished chairman of the Peace Information Center which circulates the Stockholm Appeal petitions, in an open letter to Acheson wrote:

> We have got to live in the world with Russia and China. . . . It is not sufficient to trace a proposal to a Communist source in order to dismiss it with contempt.

DuBois pointed out that in addition to 200,000,000 "ordinary men and women," these "great minds and figures of our time" had signed the appeal: George Bernard Shaw, former Mexican President Cardenas, former Italian Premier Orlando, former UN General Assembly president Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil, Attorney General Mornet and ex-Premier Edouard Herriot of France, and Poland's Roman Catholic Primate Cardinal Sapieha. The appeal had been endorsed by the Egyptian Council of State, eight Catholic Bishops of Italy and the Premier and Cabinea of Finland. DuBois added:

> May we draw your attention to the appeal issued on April 5 of this year, by the International Committee of the Red Cross, an appeal to the governments of 62 countries urging them to begin work on outlawing atomic weapons.
>
> The Cardinals and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church of France, the Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers and other religious groups in the U. S., that world figure Dr. Albert Einstein—all have called for the banning of atomic warfare in as simple and direct a manner as called for by the World Peace Appeal. . .

UNITED NATIONS

Trygve Lie says: Ask Washington

A NEW kind of Trygve Lie faced reporters on Friday at his first press conference since the Korean war. The usually relaxed UN Secy.-General was touchy, negative and brusque. The questions were the most significant he had ever been asked: the answers, the least clarifying he ever gave.

What about the use of the A-bomb in Korea? "No comment." Did Lie think that in giving the U.S. a blank check the UN had authorized atom bombing? "No comment." Could he second Nehru's mediation efforts? Lie knew nothing about them but had great respect for Nehru. Would Lie exercise his own rights to mediate? "Yes, at the appropriate time."

There were sharp exchanges with the reporters, who were not hostile but wanted clarification. As they pressed him to answer he grew increasingly irritable, and continually repeated that there was "a clear case of aggression" by North Korea. His obvious state of tension seemed to come from the fact that his role had become subordinate to Washington. "That's a military matter—refer it to the unified command," he said. He no longer acted like the head of an international organization.

COME AND FIGHT: But even the majority of delegates, who were polled afterwards, were surprised by Lie's announcement to the press that this new message had been sent to "50 nations who replied favorably" on sanctions against North Korea:

> I have been advised that the unified command U.S. Government is in urgent need of additional effective assistance and should be grateful if your government would consider the possibility of such assistance including combat forces especially ground forces.

The message was an admission of U. S. embarrassment at the limited aid so far vouchsafed to MacArthur. The "50 nations" included the Arab nations which either hedged the question or replied unfavorably, as did Egypt. It also included Kuomintang China (Formosa), whose already-made offer of ground troops for Korea (the only one thus far) was too explosive to be accepted. The message to Formosa ended:

> Unified command U.S. Government has received your previous response and will receive your further offer to take up bilaterally with you special negotiations.

To a reporter's persistent questions as to whether Lie would approve or disapprove use of Formosan trcops, "in view of your statement you would like the war confined to the Korean area," Lie obstinately refused any answer except: "It is not a question for me to decide. It is for the unified command."

MIXED BLESSING: These other points came out of the conference:

- Lie was putting on the agenda of the forthcoming General Assembly his ten-point memorandum for stopping the cold war.
- Regarding the attacks on him by Moscow's **Pravda** and **Literary Gazette**, Lie said he was used to being called names from all sides. He had been attacked by Communists before, and even more strongly by conservatives.

Daily Worker, London

"Please, teacher, who represents China in the United Nations—as if I didn't know?"

- The question of seating of China in the UN had "nothing to do with Korea" and should be decided on the constitutional ground of a people's right to be represented.
- Lie had not, he said, authorized use of his phrase, "I bless every man and woman who fights for peace," in connection with the Stockholm Appeal campaign. But he repeated the phrase to reporters, and added to it: ". . . But I also condemn everyone who starts shooting."

WASHINGTON

This is America: set for fascism

ONE big question was being studied in Washington last week: should the U. S. be made an absolute police state at one bold stroke or should it be done piecemeal? The GUARDIAN's corre-

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

spondent John B. Stone wrote:

> W. Stuart Symington, former Air Force chief and now chairman of the all-powerful National Security Resources Board, is in favor of doing it all at once. He has retained the blueprint worked out by his predecessor, special Presidential assistant John R. Steelman, which was exposed by the GUARDIAN some six months ago. The plan would give the President and his agencies the right to enforce universal manpower controls, absolute power over prices, wages, working conditions, complete authority over production and allocations, and absolute federal police power over the lives of entire communities engaged in any kind of war production.
>
> Men and women would be compelled to work, without the right to quit, at jobs declared necessary. The FBI and special police under them would be in charge of civil defense in all production communities. Symington's chief spokesman told the GUARDIAN: "That is the sensible thing. Do it all at once. But you never can tell what Truman may be forced to do. Some special problem may come up that demands special action. So he may do it piecemeal after all."

NEW YORK TIMES

SEATS IN CONGRESS TO BE MADE SOFTER

To conform with the heads?

LABOR'S YES-MEN: A long step toward gearing U. S. labor to the Korean war was taken when Symington met during the week with 22 AFL and CIO leaders who pledged full cooperation. With a government ban against national strikes already in effect, though not published, it was taken for granted that a no-strike pledge would be forthcoming upon request. Meek bids by the labor chiefs for government posts and for voluntary manpower assignments instead of a work draft were brushed aside by Symington. He said:

> "Controls must take the profit out of war, and because manpower will in all probability be our greatest shortage it appears that directed work may well be necessary."

No steps to take the profit out of war were even being discussed. Meanwhile Congress itself in a 12-hour blitz on Wednesday annihilated what was left of the Truman welfare promises. It murdered the Fair Employment Practices bill and buried the other civil rights proposals; it scuttled the bill to give relief to low-income groups by reducing excise taxes by $1,000,000,000; it decreed police-state conditions for 1,000,000 government employes by granting the heads of 11 agencies and departments unlimited authority to fire suspected "security risks" who would have no recourse to review or appeal; it shattered all remaining hopes for compulsory health insurance; it voted $250,000,000 to protect the profits of U. S. investors in foreign countries while reducing Truman's vaunted Point 4 to a pitiable $10,000,000.

On Monday AFL President William Green came out for mobilization of labor to defend "the principles that underlie our way of life."

HANDS IN YOUR POCKET: The week brought other blows to the American people. Prices, already rising, zoomed to new peaks. Beef and coffee went up as much as 4c a pound; bread, 1c a loaf; rayon yarn, as much as 5c a lb; leather hides for shoes soared. Government reaction was a feeble charge that profiteers were taking advantage of the war situation.

Steel and newsprint manufacturers were seeking to strengthen their monopolistic grips by going back to voluntary allocations.

Congressional leaders were beginning to talk of tax increases.

A decision was made to call up some National Guard units and certain specialized Reserves at once.

Moves were made to put military plane production on a 24-hour-a-day basis.

The Atomic Energy Committee released a report that the U. S. hoped to build a hydrogen bomb 1,000 times more powerful than the A-bomb and capable of annihilating a city the size of Chicago and its suburbs.

ON HITLER'S ROAD: In Alabama the police set out to arrest every known Communist on vagrancy charges; three were arrested during the week.

In Washington the Senate Judiciary Committee was seeking to revoke the bail of longshore leader Harry Bridges, commit him to jail at once.

Around the country police were beginning to harass peace petition circulators; the press everywhere campaigned against the drive; radio stations urged the people not to sign; the House Un-American Activities Committee branded the petitions a Russian plot, "warned" citizens against putting their names on them.

REACTION

Europe's tories fear U.S. out on limb

GENERAL approval of the U.S. action in Korea was hedged everywhere in western Europe by reservations, doubts and fears.

BRITAIN: On the Stock Exchange Japanese bonds and industrials were reported "better," but right-wing papers reflected fear that the U.S. would "be carried beyond her own proper sphere of interest and action" (Beaverbrook's

Daily Express). The **Express** pointed out that while the world continues divided, the UN "becomes a source of menace and confusion." Worried about U.S. pledges to "defend" Formosa, the Tory **Observer** said:

> There is nothing in the North Korean attack on South Korea which alters the legal and diplomatic position of Formosa—a position which has hitherto rightly been seen as not justifying American intervention.

The London **Times** thought the wisdom of U.S. intervention in Formosa "debatable," and published readers' letters urging Britain to use its influence to get China into the UN. The paper, which is the bible of wealthy Britons, had just published the report of its correspondent returned from Peking, who said the new regime had "for the first time brought kindliness and decency into the day-to-day administration" and is "genuinely for peace." The correspondent expressed surprise at the assumption in Britain that the new China is "Russia's obedient instrument." and pointed out that in fact "Chinese opinion of all shades" accepts China's Communists as "standing for Chinese independence as against the Kuomintang's subservience to America."

Opposition to the government's endorsement of the U. S. action, led in the House of Commons by veteran Socialist S. O. Davies from the Welsh colliery section, was growing in Labor Party circles. At the week-end 23 Labor MP's led by the anti-Soviet R. H. S. Crossman offered a motion in Commons urging U. S. withdrawal from Formosa and admission of China to the UN. The influential **New Statesman and Nation** called for replacement of the "brash, egocentric, politically violent" Gen. MacArthur.

FRANCE: Both Britain's and France's support of Washington was largely token, for they are themselves tied down in long, ruinous and apparently hopeless wars against the people of Malaya and Indo-China. French right-wing papers reflected this dilemma and the fear that U.S. commitments in Asia would leave nothing for the defense of Europe. **Le Monde**, often a vehicle for French Foreign Office thinking, was already indicating readiness to pull out of Indo-China before the Korean shooting started. "Why the thousands of lives sacrificed—why the billions swallowed up?" it asked.

The left-wing anti-Communist papers **Franc-Tireur** and **Combat** said they wanted no part of any war to bolster Bao Dai or Chiang Kai-shek, while **L'Observateur** saw the UN as having come "openly under U.S. domination."

ITALY: While U.S. Ambassador to Italy James C. Dunn vouched for the Italian people's "complete support," the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported from Rome:

> Most responsible Italian leaders used the occassion to say that Italy must continue as an active member of the North Atlantic Alliance, but numerous Italians, spurred on by Communist propaganda, indicated they would still prefer to see their country keep aloof from the Far Eastern war.

There were half-hour protest stoppages in Turin, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Leghorn, Pisa and Modena.

SPAIN: Newspapers were unanimous in fervent support.

ISRAEL: The United Workers Party (Mapam), second strongest in the Parliament, challenged government support of intervention in Korea, saying that Israel should ask what the Korean people want rather than what U.S. policies require. The Mapam newspaper **Bashaar** said:

> We need not hide our joy over every advance of the army of the poor Korean people. . . . Without U. S. interference, Koreans who desire the country's unity would have attained peace and a progressive regime in a few days.

In New York, Americans for Progressive Israel noted that even the Arab states had found it expedient to remain neutral over Korea. People in Israel might well ask why the government has shown such zeal in the Korean question, since no "police action" was taken by the UN when the Arabs attacked Israel; the Arabs were never branded "aggressors."

AUSTRALIA: Foreign Minister Spender threatened criminal action against the Seamen's Union, which proclaimed a boycott on all movements of war materials to Korea.

LATIN AMERICA: Longshoremen at Tocopilla, Chile, refused to load copper and saltpeter on a freighter bound for South Korea; month-old strike for higher wages affecting all Chilean industries is holding and spreading. In Caracas, Venezuela, demonstrators stoned the windows of the U.S. Embassy, demanding a halt to intervention in Korea.

JAPAN: Longshoremen at Tsuruma refused to load supply ships for Korea. Workers at a large printing plant refused to work on a U.S. order for Korean propaganda leaflets.

GERMANY: The National Congress of West German deckers adopted a resolution not to handle war material.

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PEACE

1,000,000 in U.S. sign against war

As the threat of world war increased, the people of the world increased their efforts for peace.

In the U.S. the Peace Information Center announced on Thursday that the 1,000,000-mark had been reached in signatures on peace petitions. More than 400,000 signed since the shooting started in Korea. It seemed likely that the goal of 5,000,000 would be reached by the end of September.

REGARDLESS OF DIFFERENCES: To the roster of distinguished Americans signing the Stockholm Pledge was added the name of Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Prize winner of 1946, honorary chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, professor emeritus of Wellesley College. She said:

> A statement like the World Peace Appeal is especially important at this time because it cuts across all ideological and political lines and merits the support of all those who want peace, regardless of any other differences among them.

Among other of the week's developments on the U.S. peace front:

● The Newark (N.J.) **Star-Ledger** conducted a poll, got this result: "New Jerseyans—from Congressmen to war heroes to the man on the street—are strongly opposed to use of the atom bomb in North Korea."

● In Los Angeles the California **Eagle**, oldest U.S. Negro newspaper, memorialized all Negro churches in the city to set aside a Peace Day.

● In Mosinee, Wis., scene of a recent mock communist invasion, a mixed Negro-white team of university students spoke to 250 residents, got 91 signatures on peace petitions.

● In Washington State the 150,000-strong Pension Union backed the peace drive, pledged 50,000 signatures.

● The Congress of American Women (2 E. 23 St., N.Y. 10, N.Y.) began publication of a mimeographed **Peace Fighter**, offered it at bundle rates to individuals and organizations.

ALL OUT IN CHICAGO: On walls and telephone poles in Gary and South Chicago stickers turned up calling for the ban of atomic weapons. Teams of Chicagoans went downstate for a double-barreled petition drive, one for peace, the other to put Progressive Party candidates on the ballot. GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren, who headed one of the teams, wrote:

> The nearness of a police state in the U.S. is driven home sharply when you hit the road in a petition campaign. In three days of door-to-door canvassing in small towns, I was rebuffed by hundreds who made clear they had no other reason for refusing to sign except nameless fear. But there were also the hundreds who have so far refused to be intimidated, and who ultimately filled up our ballot petitions with more than twice the required number of signatures.

Top signature gatherer in Chicago is small businessman Mandell Terman. In his auto accessory and household appliance store is a six-foot-high sign quoting Trygve Lie: "I bless every man, woman and child who works for peace." Each of his customers is presented with a peace petition; he has persuaded eight neighboring stores to post petitions prominently. He has so far gathered 1,600 signatures, aims at 10,000 by Labor Day.

EINSTEIN SUPPORTED: More than 100 members of the U. of Chicago faculty—including 81 professors and deans—this week signed an open letter to Dr. Albert Einstein supporting his statement that national armaments cannot bring peace.

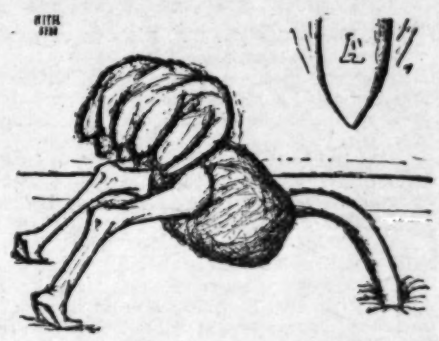
The letter, released by the "U. of Chicago Faculty-Graduate Committee for Peace," was drafted before the Korean war. But, the committee said, "These unforeseen events make all the more important the message of this open letter." It went on:

> An armaments race with the Soviet Union is not the way to peace. We defend your right to speak your mind on the life-and-death issue posed by the hydrogen-bomb, and are ashamed that a leading admiral could have said of you: "If Einstein doesn't like Americanism or our nationalism, then he should go back where he came from and try Mr. Hitler again."

The letter expressed concern over the "serious danger that the necessary democratic discussion of our foreign policy may be stifled." Signers included: Dr. Lester Dragstedt, head of surgery; Dr. Anton J. Carlson, famous physiologist; Dr. Hans Morgenthau, physiology; Dean John Thompson, Rockefeller Memorial Chapel.

200,000,000 STRONG: Abroad, the peace drive took on spectacular proportions. By early July nearly 200,000,000 persons in 51 countries had signed up. In the Soviet Union 96,000,000 were on the rolls. In Poland the Catholic clergy gave its official support to the petition campaign; the chief rabbi of Poland appealed to Jews throughout the world to sign up. In Italy 2,000,000 names were gathered in only four cities.

In Israel, with an adult population of 700,000, teams have gathered 175,000 signatures in three weeks against the active opposition to the ruling Mapai party. In Haifa 90% of the Arab population has signed up.



Action, Paris

"She didn't sign the World Peace Appeal."

The Archbishop of York, England, urged Britain and the U.S. to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union to outlaw atom and hydrogen bombs. The Conference of the National Union of Railwaymen, 500,000 strong, adopted a peace resolution similar to the Stockholm Pledge. The Electrical Trades Union with 188,000 members voted to affiliate with the British Peace Committee, urged each of its members to sign petitions.

CHEVALIER SINGS OUT: In Peking, China, 1,000,000 signatures were collected; 930,000 out of a population of 1,200,000 in Chungking signed up; 500,000 were on the rolls in Canton.

In France, actor-singer Maurice Chevalier had something to say about the peace petitions:

> "I should like to see the list of those who refuse to sign! They must be people who want to commit suicide without having to take the initiative themselves. Myself, I just don't understand how anyone can refuse. If you do you must be for the bomb and willing to sign your own death-warrant. You are FORCED to be against the bomb unless you want to be blown up."

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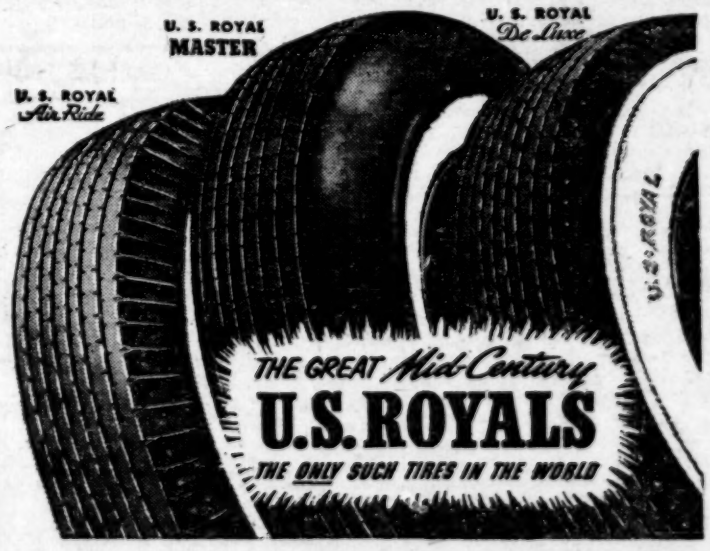

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MAX WERNER: Asia's age of military renaissance

FOR years a distorted picture of modern war has been presented to Americans. Now, in Korea, we see that it is not necessarily a war fought with super-weapons, with A-bombs, guided missiles and super-jets. Modern war is war which influences the relationship of power in our time.

Probably the biggest single fact in the military revolution of our time is that the Asian soldier is fighting the Western soldier on equal footing. Today, our press is full of praises for the military quality of the North Korean Army. "The troops, ably led, are tough, trained fighters," said the N.Y. **Times** on July 9.

We have to ask ourselves: How did it happen that the American allies in Asia—Kuomintang China, South Korea and Bao Dai's French Indo-China—were unable to create fighting armies? Why on the other hand have Communist China, the nationalist revolutionary Viet-Minh of Indo-China, and North Korea marshaled real military power that is going to be transformed into modern armies?

WEST FORGETS, EAST LEARNS: France's greatest military expert, Camille Rougeron, wrote recently that the Western world is going through the age of military decadence. There is no doubt, however, that Asia is going through an age of military renaissance.

While the idea of the mass army, of the armed people, is being rejected in the West, it is accepted and carried into effect in the East. Today France and Britain cannot muster mass armies, but China, North Korea, Indo-China can. The reason is not merely that Asia has more manpower.

British and French strategy—and, considering the recent trend of U.S. military policy, our own strategy too—strive to do away with the risks and costs of land war, while China, and as we see now, little Korea, are successfully developing the concept of land strategy. Thus we see Asia taking over the heritage of the West's military science which Western Europe is abandoning.

LOOKING AHEAD: This is not merely a matter of fighting capacity of mass armies measured in millions of soldiers. The modernization of the Chinese Army is proceeding by leaps and bounds. The handling of tanks and artillery by the North Korean army is remarkable. If the international tension continues and the militarization of Asia goes ahead, the Asiatic continent is quite likely to train millions of modern infantrymen, artillerymen, tankmen and fliers.

On the other hand the Asian strategy is constantly perfecting and modernizing the art of guerrilla warfare, to which Western military art has so far found no counter-strategy. In a war of attrition guerrillas can thwart much bigger and better-equipped forces. The Japanese srategy was unable to subdue the Chinese guerrillas though it operated with massive armies and at relatively short distances, in Japan's own backyard.

WHAT WE FACE: North Korea is smaller than one single average province of China; militarily it is only the advanced echelon of continental Asia. Yet on the basis of the experiences in the Korean war we can calculate quite exactly the actual and potential military strength of China. North Korea certainly represents less than one-tenth of China's military power.

Fred Wright

"Just think, if it weren't for all this fuss we'd be back in Peoria trying to peddle vacuum cleaners."

And we now understand better the combined Russian-Chinese strength in continental Asia. If the center of gravity of U.S. strategy is transferred to the Pacific, as now seems to be the case, then our strategy has to face on the Asiatic continent some 120 Chinese and Russian divisions. In light of the Korean experience this force carries strong weight. Under these circumstances it is quite unclear what should be the key for the distribution of U.S. power between the Pacific-Asiatic and the Atlantic-Western European areas.

QUESTIONS FOR PENTAGON: The main error of our intelligence was not that it failed to predict the Korean explosion, but its striking overestimation of our allies and underestimation of their potential adversaries.

Now 21 U.S. military missions are working abroad, all over the world. What are their estimates of the armies they train and supervise? It is time to reassess realistically the strength of U.S. allies. After the experience in Korea, what are for example the strength and capabilities of the Iranian army, the Turkish army, the Italian army, and with all due historic respect—the French army?

The Atlantic Pact strategy has been based on the belief that the Soviet Army can be counter-balanced by allied Western force of about one-fourth its strength, and on the calculation that river defense lines, modern light weapons and tactical aviation can stop a powerful offensive. The war in Korea has buried these illusions.

11th-hour fight for Willie McGee

FOR the 11th hour, there would be 11th-hour action. Willie McGee is condemned to die in a Mississippi electric chair on Thursday, July 27. But on July 25 a national delegation of ministers, artists, writers, trade union leaders and others from at least ten states would gather in Jackson, Miss., for a last-minute, last-ditch fight to save his life.

Last week attorneys were going into court again in habeas corpus proceedings, based on newly-discovered evidence proving McGee was denied due process of law in his third trial. The 35-year-old father of four children was framed and first tried on a rape charge in 1945.

The Civil Rights Congress, which has conducted his defense, is sponsoring the delegation to Jackson but has invited all interested persons to go along. It said:

The Civil Rights Congress has no property rights in this fight for this innocent man's life. He belongs to all America.

UNDAUNTED WIFE: Late last week the first group of delegates, from Los Angeles, were already on their way.

While some were going South, Mrs. McGee herself came North. She arrived in Chicago on July 13 for a whirlwind speaking tour on behalf of her husband under the auspices of the Douglass Lincoln Fraternal Society of the International Workers Order. This was her schedule:

Wednesday, July 19—New Haven; Thursday, July 20—Jersey City; Saturday, July 22—New York City; Sunday, July 23—Waterbury, Conn.

Scottsboro Boy free

Two victories in two days in Detroit last week made Haywood Patterson, last of the nine Scottsboro defendants, a free man again. On Wednesday Gov. Mennen Williams turned down an Alabama demand for his extradition. On Thursday Federal Judge Arthur F. Lederle dismissed an FBI fugitive warrant and rebuked the agency for acting independently in the case without the sanction of either the State of Alabama or the Attorney General's office.

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